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WAR & PEACE

Atom knowledge shared but riots flare in colonies

By Kumar Goshal

THE WORLD LAST WEEK continued to present a contradictory picture. While Geneva presented abundant evidence of co-operation and harmony, in such countries as Goa in India and Morocco in N. Africa colonial conflicts rose to a new peak.

Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"If the march of science continues at its present rate, by 1956 it'll take twelve hours to reach the moon and a fortnight to get to Hyde Park Corner!"

The 2,000 delegates and observers attending the Geneva atoms-for-peace conference agreed, as the meeting came to an end on Aug. 20, that it was an unqualified success. The 72 participating governments released a vast amount of information with 200 tons of documentation on all aspects of atomic energy. Scientists accepted invitations to visit one another's projects. Sir John Cockroft and other British delegates, for example, agreed to visit Moscow soon.

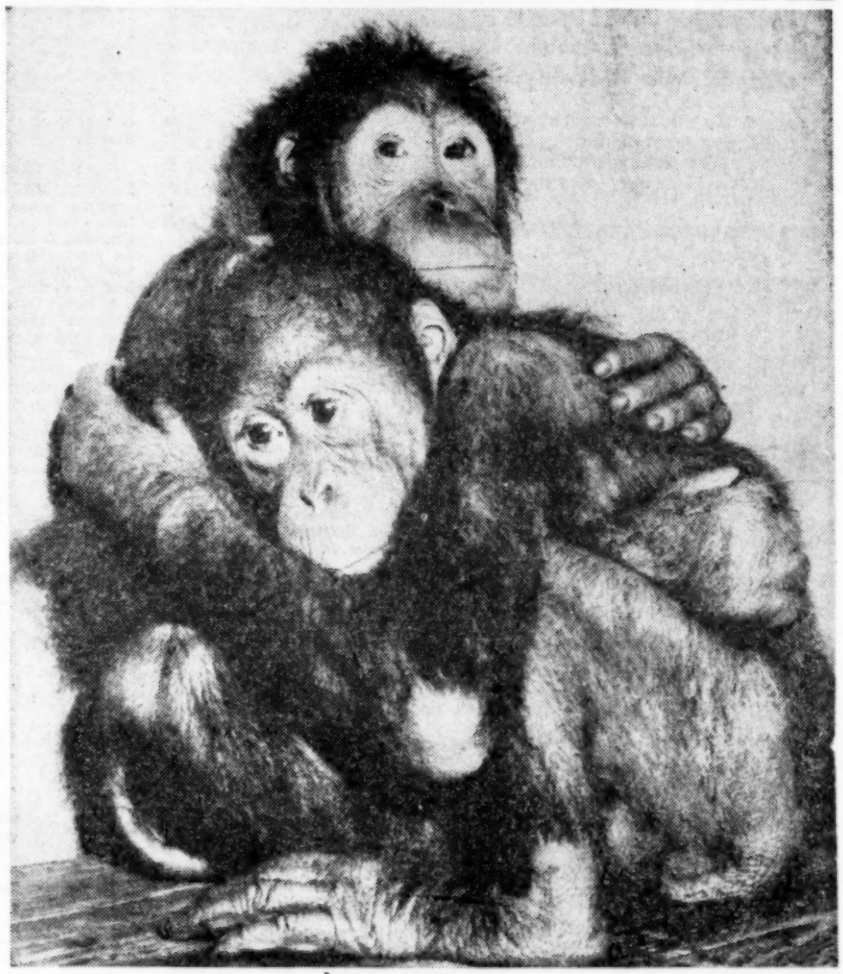
THE BIG DIFFERENCE: Indian physicist Dr. Bhabha remarked in his closing address that the conference over which he presided will result in "far-reaching political consequences." However, he pointed out that this conference

> ". . . differs in one important respect from all political conferences. Knowledge once given cannot be taken back, and in organizing this conference the nations of the world have taken . . . a step from which there is no retreat."

Scientists considered the following revelations as the most important:

- Nuclear power costs will soon be competitive with other fuel costs in many parts of the world.
- Development of breeder reactors, capable of producing more fissionable

(Continued on Page 7)



HUSH, LITTLE BABY, DON'T YOU CRY
While east meets west the bombs can't fly

THE BENTLEY FANTASIA

Spy queen saved from court appearance; Fitzgerald appeals

By Elmer Bendiner

EDWARD FITZGERALD, former New Deal official, last week rejected an "immunity" offered by the government if he would turn informer. He demanded that he be legally tried, not smeared, on Elizabeth Bentley's spy charges, and launched a second test of the Compulsory Testimony Act. The first test case, William Ludwig Ullmann's, is now before the U. S. Supreme Court.

Fitzgerald, like Ullmann, was called a spy by Miss Bentley ten years ago and has been hounded ever since. On July 20 he refused, to tell a federal grand jury investigating "wartime espionage" about his politics or to name others, claiming his rights under the Fifth Amendment.

STANDS HIS GROUND: The government got a court order directing Fitzgerald to answer in return for "immunity." Fitzgerald said:

> "I seek no pardon, amnesty or immunity for any act of mine. I reject unconditionally the immunity offered me by the government. I think the Attorney General should prosecute anyone who is guilty of espionage—or admit that he is crying 'spy' for political purposes."

He went back to the grand jury but held his ground and was ordered to trial for contempt on Aug. 18. He said he needed three witnesses to prove the entire spy hunt a hoax: Miss Bentley (who has tagged 80 persons as involved in "spy rings" and faced none of them in open court); and Atty. Gen. Brownell and J. Edgar Hoover who used the Bentley testimony to smear publicly not only Fitzgerald but the whole New Deal. Each was subpenaed.

Miss Bentley was served in her Madison, Conn., home; she herself made no move to quash it, but U. S. government attorneys stepped in and on Aug. 17 had her subpena quashed along with Brownell's and Hoover's. The "Spy Queen" was again saved from a cross-examination which, Fitzgerald was confident, would have shattered the great "spy ring" hoax built up around her unsupported testimony.

THE DEFENSE: In New York Federal Judge Lawrence E. Walsh heard Fitzgerald's attorney, Milton Friedman, make these arguments against a contempt conviction:

- The constitutionality of the Compulsory Testimony Law is now before the Supreme Court.
- If under threat of contempt prosecution and with promise of immunity a man is forced to give information, what happens to him should the Supreme Court nullify that immunity by ruling against the law's constitutionality?
- The order directing Fitzgerald to answer did not specify to what questions.
- The Compulsory Testimony Act offers amnesty not to a group but to individuals and is therefore, like a pardon, a matter for the executive branch, not Congress.
- A pardon is not valid unless it is accepted by the person pardoned (Friedman cited precedents.)

In addition Friedman claimed that

(Continued on Page 4)

Gives all away—except what's his

DOUGLAS McKAY, who, as Secretary of the Interior, presides over the Eisenhower giveaway of natural resources, isn't giving anything away as the millionaire owner of a General Motors agency in Oregon.

For 14 months the Secretary badgered his employes to give up all their union conditions, including the union shop, the 40-hour week, three paid holidays and all seniority rights (some of his workers have 20 years service). He was particularly insistent that his employes pay half the laundry bill for their work clothes.

Lodge 1506 of the AFL machinists' union offered to compromise by renewing the old contract. McKay balked, the union struck. On a recent visit to his home town the Secretary of the Interior walked through a picket line in front of his agency.

TERROR IN GUATEMALA

Protests from U. S. could save the life of jailed peoples' leader

FOURTEEN MONTHS AGO when the Guatemalan republic was surrendered, Col. Enrique Diaz said:

> "Bodies lie in the streets and the buzzards feast on them."

Last week the buzzards roosted in the fields. There was a corn famine on the steep hillside farms where corn was first grown in the world and where it has been the staple diet for centuries. Early in the year the N. Y. **Times** interviewed Lt. Manuel Montenegro, chief of the Agrarian Affairs Office:

> "He pictured thousands of hungry peasants roaming the road with nowhere to go."

THE RESISTANCE: The government of President Castillo Armas plans to evict some 60,000 farmers from land given them under the Arbenz land reform program, beginning next January. In preparation hundreds of farmers and their leaders have been imprisoned or executed.

The resistance, forced underground, has organized itself. Three of the pro-Arbenz parties have merged into the illegal Party of Revolutionary Action which works in a common front with the outlawed Guatemalan Workers Party (Communist). Mimeographed leaflets and bulletins, on paper small enough to be passed from palm to palm in a handshake, go the rounds in the capital. When students recently led a march in connection with the corn famine, their numbers were swelled to thousands by the time they reached the park in front of the national palace.

An edgy dictatorship, faced with economic crisis and worried about every show of resistance, continues the bloodbath, relying on world silence. Under its anti-communist laws, anyone charged with "communist" activity is tried by a court martial. Torture is commonplace. Deaths go unannounced.

MONZON IN DANGER: On Aug. 13 underground leader Alvarado Monzon was arrested. The news shocked Guatemalans at home and in exile throughout Latin America, who feared he would be tortured, perhaps killed before his trial. It seemed to them that Castillo Armas was most susceptible to pressure from one source: the U. S.

The U. S. made no bones about claiming the victory of Castillo Armas as its own. The late U. S. Ambassador Peurifoy dictated the terms of surrender. Castillo Armas' economic program—and his survival—are dependent on U. S. tourists, Washington handouts.

An outcry of protest, sermons from U. S. pulpits, editorials in U. S. papers are listened to in the palace of Guatemala. Guatemalans have risked their lives to speak out against the imminent danger to resistance leader Alvarado Monzon. North Americans could do so without a moment's danger. The Guatemalans last week waited for some signs from the north.

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THE MAIL BAG

Galiant company

NEW YORK, N. Y.
Editor-in-residence
NATIONAL GUARDIAN

I regret that the rules I now live by prevented me from joining the co-workers and friends of Cedric Belfrage at Hoboken to see him and Mrs. Belfrage off, and wish them bon voyage. I could go to the Manhattan side of the Hudson, but I couldn't cross it. The reason—the opposite side is in another judicial district; I almost wrote another country, like Mexico across the Rio Grande.

I was delighted to read that Belfrage will continue to do editorial work on the GUARDIAN. Perhaps he will have the opportunity to do more writing for the weekly, since some of the executive chores will now be taken over by other staff members.

In acquiring a new dateline, Belfrage will join the gallant company of illustrious poets, writers, and publicists who did not lay down their pens after they were forced to live in foreign lands: Marx writing from England, Heine from France, Hugo from Belgium, Lenin from Switzerland, Bohemia, Galicia, Finland; and to come closer home, the Cuban patriot, Marti, writing from our own New York.

I wish the Belfrages the best in their new habitat and hope to see soon in the GUARDIAN, the contributions of its Editor-in-Exile—a truly noble title.

Alexander Trachtenberg
Pres.-on-bail,
International Publishers

Thank you, Sid Roger

BERKELEY, CALIF.

Sidney Roger gave a good part of his broadcast last Sunday to an excellent run-down on the Belfrage case, and a plea, of course, for support for the paper and his right to stay. Wish we all could have said goodbye to Cedric in person—maybe we'll all be saying welcome home to him one of these days not too far off. Meantime we'll be hearing from him through the paper, of course. **Malvina**

Pritt on Wexley

NEW YORK, N. Y.

GUARDIAN readers will be interested in the following comment from the noted British lawyer, D. N. Pritt, whose analysis of the Rosenberg-Sobell Case was printed in full in the GUARDIAN two years ago. This letter was received in acknowledgement of a copy of John Wexley's **The Judgement of Julius & Ethel Rosenberg** (Cameron Associates, N. Y., $6), sent to Mr. Pritt by the Sobell Committee, 1050 6th Av., N. Y. C.:

"I think it is a very remarkable book. Its analysis of the trial is quite devastating, and—I think—beyond challenge. Its description of the background, however, does strike the British reader, in one or two instances, as being a little far-fetched, i.e., as perhaps inferring too much from the premises; but, as one reads the whole book, one comes more and more to the conclusion: (a) that one only thinks of it being a bit far-fetched because one hasn't really grasped the full measure of the degeneration of the prosecution forces and of the atmosphere generally, and (b) that if one gives the fullest weight to any such criticism of far-fetchedness one is still left with—in that part of the book to which no such criticism can be directed—an overwhelming case against the trial, against the prosecuting authorities, and in favor of the innocence of the Rosenbergs and of Sobell."

Helen Sobell

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

NEW YORK, Aug. 18—In expressing the gratitude of the committee and of Congress, Rep. Walter . . . said the actor's contribution may well equal a "division of infantry" in the cold war.

—N. Y. Herald Tribune, reporting reaction to actor George Hall's testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee, naming 8 colleagues as Communists.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading.

More on Wexley

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

Here is what reviewer Herbert Kenny Jr. had to say about the Wexley book in the Indianapolis News:

"Wexley, author of **The Last Mile**, uses excerpts from the testimony, plus his own summarization of what is omitted and the results plus his own investigation, and apparently expects the reader to arrive at a different verdict than did the jury. Some questions about the technique of the FBI and the federal prosecutor are raised that would seem to be hard to answer. Or are the answers to be found in material Wexley has left out?

"One doesn't feel completely 'safe' with Wexley as a guide through the labyrinth of the Rosenberg case. And yet, he raises an awful doubt that perhaps justice wasn't done, that a political frame-up was successfully pulled off."

Reader

Fyke's Good Fight

NASHVILLE, TENN.

I think you will be interested in the developments in my case to enjoin the collection of income taxes for war. My complaint was filed April 24, 1953. The government filed a motion to dismiss. The court heard argument and about a year later overruled the motion saying that I ought to be allowed to develop my case. The government the next day filed a second motion to dismiss like the first except that it was designated as a motion to dismiss the complaint as amended. A Special Assistant Attorney General came down from Washington and argued the motion. Judge Davies took the motion under advisement.

On August 5, 1955, about 16 months after the argument of the motion, he entered an order denying the motion to dismiss. This means the government must answer the complaint. It means there will be a trial on the merits. I maintain this is sufficient cause for a lot of rejoicing by people who hate war. It is something new in the world for government to have to stand before the bar of justice in such an action brought by an individual citizen.

I beseech all war haters to give me their support. Surely the case is now at the stage that assistance will be forthcoming.

Fyke Farmer
300 W. Bellevue Drive
Nashville 5, Tenn.

Look Away in Dixie

NEW YORK, N. Y.

You can brag about farms in Iowa
'Til your tonsils are sore
But that ain't all of the U. S. A.
There's lots and lots more.
Millions toil away down South
In gully-washed Land of Doing Without
But sight-seein' ain't welcome there—for sure.

L. G.

Girl named Smith

SOMEWHERE, U. S. A.

I am 87 but somehow I think we are going to win out. So much is wrong with the U. S. now that people can't and won't stand it. They are beginning to see.

I have written all the letters you suggested, hoping they may help a little. I always sign my maiden name to saucy letters to keep me out of jail. My maiden name was Smith. **Name withheld**

Mighty mite

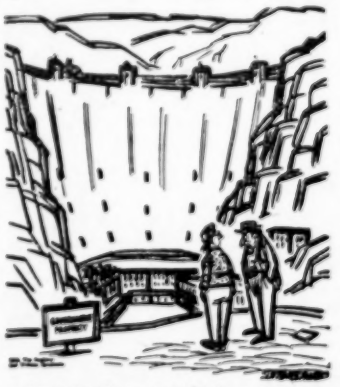
PEORIA, ILL.

Some time ago I read in the Mail Bag a letter from Charlie Chaplin from Switzerland, in which he sent you a check for $100 and told you to renew his subscription and keep the rest of the money.

I really wish I might have the financial resources to do likewise. But I at least can send you a $10 bill for my renewal and am asking you to use the rest as you see fit.

I sincerely hope I can send you more help in the future. God knows, you need it with your fight for Cedric Belfrage and the battle for existence which all progressive publications have to wage nowadays.

I hope that I can remain a subscriber of your paper for many years yet and I also hope you have many years of publishing ahead of you. **William Elermann**



Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"I certainly will not take a picture of that magnificent structure . . . it's 'creeping socialism.'"

Folding Money

WOODSIDE, L. I.

Enclosed please find my pledge card for $1 per month for the rest of this year. If conditions permit, I hope to be able to increase this within a short while. When the weather is cooler I hope to be able to run a little fund-raising house party, where we might raise some folding money for our GUARDIAN. **B. S.**

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SPOKANE, WASH.

At a regular meeting of our Club last night steps were taken to have a Banquet for Guardian supporters at W. 1009 Broadway, Aug. 28, 7 p.m. Between-courses entertainment will include short talks on "Why I read the GUARDIAN." Spokane readers are being invited.

Lillian Keevy, Corr. Secy.

•

SEATTLE, WASH.

There will be a GUARDIAN Party in Seattle Aug. 28. We shall all help. It is surprising how affectionately we all think of the GUARDIAN here in Seattle. **E.**

A real leader

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mrs. Emma Robinson passed away on Aug. 10, 1955. Mrs. Robinson was a real leader in the truest sense of the word. She was Treasurer of the Progressive Party of the District of Columbia and was an active leader in Negro organizations. She was always forthright in her position and was a devoted member. She is mourned by her family and a host of friends. The Progressive Party especially mourns her loss. **Gertrude Evans**

In memory

NEW YORK, N. Y.

This $5 is in memory of Mrs. Pauline Boyer, who died July 17, 1955. **A Sixty-fiver**

The yearning spirit

COLUMBIA, S. C.

Please accept my contribution of $5 to help keep the GUARDIAN going. Never knew about it until I came South to visit my daughter and her family. Each week it came and I decided to open it and to my amazement its contents gave me just what I want and my spirit is yearning to see come to pass. God will and is blessing the truth through men.

Wish I could do more physically and financially, but I'm an old colored woman and a widow and can only even read so much. But I'm saving the copies of the GUARDIAN to take North with me when I get back to Philadelphia in a few weeks. The world is surely getting better for your efforts.

Mrs. Charlotte E. Sutton

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"Freedom of speech is of no use to a man who has nothing to say."—FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

REPORT TO READERS

Bravo!

THE FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS this week is a round of bravos for the performances of 22 of New York's better-grade entertainment people in Rep. Walter's midsummer revue, "The Headline Hunters" (see p. 3). Foley Square has been the scene of many such productions during the witch-hunt season, some tragic, some comic, but never has the villain received a more thorough-going, more satisfying come-uppance in any of his appearances in these parts.

Any good press agent could have told the luckless Congressman that it is bad medicine to try to trade punch-lines and **ad libs** with a show-business professional. In this case, 22 of the 23 who made appearances gave the old goat the business and stole almost all of his headlines. Number 23, the only "friendly" witness, proved to be not even a very good stooge. He had to be prompted to an embarrassing degree and even then got rather wryly mixed up in his lines, as when he said that our ancestors fought and died for the two-party system.

The "22" did so nobly without rehearsals that we think they ought to stick together as a troupe for the fall season, with an off-Broadway satire on Congressional committees. It would go like a House afire.

ANGEL IN THE WINGS? On Monday morning following the departure from Foley Square of Rep. Walter and his Royal Nonesuch Inquisition, the newspapers reported findings of the Fund for the Republic (operating with $15,000,000 of Ford Foundation money) that there exists in the U. S. an alarming abuse of civil rights. Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, president, reporting for the Fund, said that the Cold War had thrown traditional American liberty into "unusual disorder."

"The treatment accorded suspected persons in Congressional investigations and administrative hearings," he said, "has not always been that contemplated by the Sixth Amendment [guaranteeing the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury]." Civil rights, he warned, are "the distinguishing characteristics of the Western tradition; they are the deepest values in American life" without which "America would be unrecognizable. . . ."

THE FUND HAS SPENT $2,500,000 since 1952 to "advance understanding of civil liberties." One result is a survey of job screening entitled **Case Studies in Personnel Security**, prepared by a staff of lawyers under Adam Yarmolinsky of Washington, D. C. (soon to be reviewed in the GUARDIAN). In progress also is a study of blacklisting in movies, radio and TV.

Last week, too, the Fund announced allotment of $200,000 for a television series featuring Herbert L. Block (syndicated cartoonist Herblock of the Washington, D. C., **Post and Times-Herald**). Between 25 and 30 TV stations have agreed to carry the program for an initial 13 weeks. As GUARDIAN readers know, Herblock's cartoons are not only liberal in slant, but often downright sassy (see p. 4).

This is all to the mustard—but what of the $12,000,000 still remaining in the Fund for the Republic? Would it be too much of a good thing if the blacklisted entertainment folk asked the Fund to angel a topical barnstorming production on the blacklisters adaptable for radio and TV?

No harm in asking, is there? **—THE EDITORS**

Box for Hox?

THE BEACHES, CALIF.

I have had no experience in trying to promote an affair and thought of course, that Mr. Hoxsey had made some arrangements as he started the idea. When he asked me to receive the GUARDIAN record, I supposed it was because he wouldn't be here but it never entered my head that he expected me to take over. I've been trying to get a planning committee together. If I were only younger (I'm over 70) and could drive a car, I could do more but I'll try, I'm sure we'll be able to come up with something, but I'd love to box Hoxsey's ears ! **Kate C. Young**

THE SCORE: 22 TO 1

Un-American road show flops after four-day run in New York

REP. FRANCIS E. WALTER (D-Pa.), chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, on leaving New York last week said he hoped his probers had succeeded "in alerting people to the situation in the theater." In a nutshell the situation was this:

The committee had about run out of informers on Broadway (only one, actor George Hall, out of 23 witnesses was "friendly"). It had run into tough, eloquent resistance. On the other hand it had been given a brand new weapon: the power of local boards of the American Federation of Television & Radio Artists to fine, suspend or expel members who were "unfriendly" before the committee.

WHAT NEXT? The key questions were: would AFTRA use that power and make witnesses pay for their constitutional rights with their jobs; would producers act against those of the unfriendly 22 not already blacklisted, and if so, would the audiences shrug off sudden firings or follow the warning on program notes:

"In case of fire, walk, do not run, to the nearest exit."

The committee, promising to return in January, left behind a watchdog for Broadway in the person of former Asst. U. S. Atty. Mrs. Dolores Scotti, who is to carry on a "continuous investigation." Mrs. Scotti had cropped up during the hearings when actress Madeline Lee charged that while serving her with a subpena Mrs. Scotti tried to influence her testimony and finally struck her.

Legally the committee was challenged on a broader front than ever before. Three witnesses resisted the probing into their beliefs and associations by contesting the authority of the committee without invoking any Constitutional amendment, one invoked the First Amendment, 18 invoked a series of amendments including the Fifth, which, up to now, has been the only grounds recognized by the committee.

THE FIGHT-BACK: The committee threatened contempt action against four of the witnesses but plainly was relying on unions, producers and blacklisters to carry out reprisals. Madeline Lee reported that her automobile insurance policy had been canceled after her hearing. Producer Peter Lawrence (**Peter Pan,** 1950) was denied membership in Assn. of Theatrical Press Agents and Managers for "lack of experience." Others continued to work with their companies.

So spirited was the resistance of the subpenaed actors that they stole the show from the inquisitors. Here are highlights:

Pete Seeger, when asked to identify an alleged picture of himself at a 1952 May Day parade:

"That's a little like Jesus Christ when he was asked by Pontius Pilate, 'Are you King of the Jews?' "

Producer, writer, singer Tony Kraber on hearing the testimony of informer Elia Kazan:

"Is this the Kazan who signed a contract for $500,000 the day after he gave names to this committee?"

Film dealer Harold J. Salemson:

"I'm here before a chairman who associates himself with un-American elements."

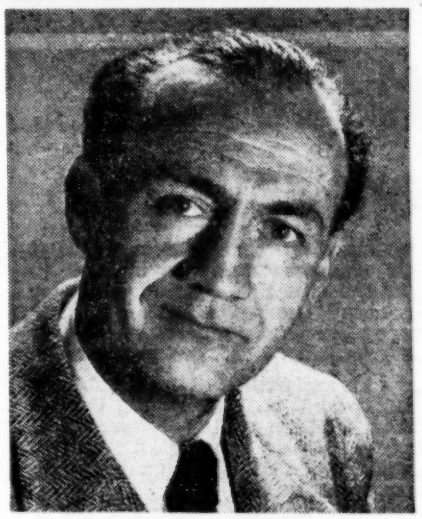
Actor Elliott Sullivan:

"I think that this committee has changed the qualifications for acting. I think they've substituted for good acting some sort of political test."

On informers:

"The long, tired list . . . who have sold their honor for a mess of pottage."

SOUND EFFECTS: The undersized hearing chamber in the Federal Court House, jammed with newsmen, held no more than 70 spectators, many of whom waited for hours to get in. On the first day the audience was overwhelmingly sympathetic to the embattled witnesses. Three elderly guffawing ladies were all the committee could rely on until midway in the hearings when the ladies were reinforced.



ELLIOTT SULLIVAN
No mess of pottage, thanks

The committee, plainly outclassed by the witnesses, was cheered by the personal appearances of Bernard Baruch and ex-Rep. J. Hamilton Fish, who congratulated Chairman Walter.

In the contest for public support outside the hearing room, the committee members were feted at the Hotel New Yorker by Alliance, Inc. The meeting was characterized by this exchange:

Gardner Osborn, chairman of American Coalition of New York:

"Is Joe McCarthy out of business?"

Audience, roaring:

"No!"

OVERFLOW RALLY: The 22 unfriendly witnesses were hailed at a fight-back rally sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which overflowed Carl Fischer Hall on W. 57th St., necessitating another simultaneous meeting in Carnegie Recital Hall across the street. Speakers, including ECLC chairman Clark Foreman and journalist I. F. Stone, shuttled between the two halls addressing close to 1,000.

During the hearings lessons for AFTRA and other unions contemplating reprisals were administered by the 130th annual meeting of the American Unitarian Assn. in Boston. There the delegates, with jeers and catcalls, howled down a motion that would have defrocked any minister refusing to testify on "subversive" activities. In Ft. Wayne, Ind., the exec. council of the AFL American Federation of Teachers appropriated $1,500 to fight the dismissal of three teacher-victims of the Un-American Activities Committee who invoked the Fifth Amendment in Newark.

THE FREE PRESS: The N. Y. press generally backed the committee, in at least one instance behaving as if reporters were under the gun. The **Daily News** (8/16) in an editorial titled "Red Hams vs. The People," said:

". . . these hams have been abetted by at least one Red-slanted 'news' story in an allegedly respectable New York morning newspaper. That suggests that Walter might be wise to reopen his committee's investigation of Red influence in the U. S. newspaper business."

The only N. Y. morning newspaper which has been attacked by pro-committee sources and which would still rate the "allegedly respectable" tag by the **News,** is the N. Y. **Times.** The **Times,** whose news coverage by and large was objective, appeared on the day of the **News'** threat with this lead:

"Four more witnesses stubbornly resisted yesterday all efforts of the House Un-American Activities Committee to get them to tell how their lives and work may have been affected or exploited by communism."

Editorially the **Times** condemned the witnesses for not answering all the committee questions without regard to Constitutional rights, or their own careers, but gently tapped the committee in these words:

"It seems to us that the House Committee on Un-American Activities could find more fertile fields than the acting profession to pursue its investigation—but of course, the publicity wouldn't be nearly so good."

CHAIN-GANG FUGITIVE FIGHTS FOR LIFE

Gov. Harriman stalls in battle to prevent extradition

By Eugene Gordon

WILLIE REID is a 38-year-old Negro refugee from a Florida chain-gang. He was arrested by a New York City detective in 1952 on a tip from the FBI which, after four years, has been unable to find the bomb-murderers of Florida NAACP leaders Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore. The state of Florida promptly requested the state of New York to return Willie Reid. Gov. Averell Harriman, not bothering to hear Reid's story, signed a warrant for his extradition. While the case went to court, the Governor went to Europe.

What's happened since is told in a series of articles in the **Daily Worker,** written by Abner Berry. To him, to Reid's NAACP legal counsel Lewis Flagg III, and to the Civil Rights Congress goes the credit for so far preventing Reid's return to almost certain death.

DUE PROCESS: Berry wrote on Aug. 1 that his questioning of the legal basis for Gov. Harriman's action caused uneasiness in the State Atty. General's office. He had phoned "for clarification on whether the 4th Article of the Constitution [calling for one state to return an escaped felon to another] stood by itself or was tempered and conditioned by the 5th and 14th Amendments":

"The 5th Amendment, a part of the Bill of Rights, provides that no person be forced to testify against himself or be denied due process of law. The 14th Amendment, designed to protect the constitutional rights of Negroes following the Civil War, guarantees due process plus 'the equal protection of the laws' for all citizens."

Reid's story, told in his counsel's words, relates that

". . . his trial in Lake County, Fla., scene of the frame-up trial of Walter Lee Irvin (GUARDIAN, 1/17) in the 'Little Scottsboro Case', was a farce, [Reid being] forced by the court to plead guilty of assault . . . denied the right to choose defense counsel, and railroaded to a 15-year prison sentence, [he escaping] in 1951 with a broken back after serving less than two years. . . ."

Alfred J. Callahan, an assistant counsel to Gov. Harriman, was prodded into admitting to Berry that the Governor couldn't be "required" by anybody to send Reid back to his torturers. Why, then, didn't the Governor—knowing that due process of law is denied Negroes in Florida—withdraw his extradition warrant? "That," replied Callahan, "was gone into in the Supreme Court decision of 1952."

THE PRECEDENT: He was referring to the 8-to-1 U. S. Supreme Court ruling which sent Robert Woodall back to an Alabama chain-gang from which he had escaped, eight justices insisting that the fugitive could find relief in the state courts for his complaint of torture, with only Justice William O. Douglass dissenting

"at the thought that any human being should be forced to run the gamut of blood and terror in order to get his constitutional rights."

Callahan offered the notion that it is "not the Governor's function to interpret the Constitution; he has to go by the interpretation of the courts." Well, wasn't Justice Douglas' dissent one interpretation of the Constitution? Yes; "but there were eight others."

DEATH AND CHARITY: On Aug. 3, in an open letter to Gov. Harriman, Berry wrote that "you are returning from your European vacation in time to save a life" and called attention to Reid's "pleas to your office for reconsideration of his case." He added:

"Reid was charitable in discussing your signature on what he considers to be his death warrant. He says you did not know the conditions under which Negro chain-gang prisoners—and especially escapees—must serve their sentences. You did not know, Reid says, that prisoners who return are tortured in sweat boxes. . . ."

The Governor has not answered; the State of New York has paid no official attention. Reid, meanwhile, is held without bail while Harriman, forced against his will to consider the case, makes up his mind whether to release him to freedom or to Lake County Sheriff and Negro-killer Willis V. McCall. The sheriff expects to come and get Reid some time in October.

DEWEY WAS BETTER: Reid won a ten-week reprieve in Manhattan Felony Court Aug. 9. Counsel Flagg told the GUARDIAN he will use the time to petition the State Supreme Court's Appeals Division against the Governor's extradition order. Mr. Flagg cites two precedents set by former Gov. Thomas E. Dewey.

Berry on Aug. 13 wired Harriman:

"Gov. Leader of Pennsylvania has just withdrawn an extradition warrant for Edward Brown, a Negro refugee from a Georgia chain-gang. Brown had served 15 years of a life sentence and his fight against a warrant signed by former Gov. Fine met defeat in all state courts and the U. S. Supreme Court. Gov. Leader granted Brown asylum on the basis of his constituents' revulsion against the type of justice to which Brown was subjected and the cruel and unusual punishments he had to suffer. Identical circumstances exist in the case of Willie Reid. . . . Urge you study record of both cases and emulate example of your fellow Democrat of Pennsylvania."

Gov. Harriman as a Presidential aspirant must refrain from offending powerful Dixiecrats. But New York Negro voters, holding a balance of power, can also be offended. They, assisted by GUARDIAN readers in a letter-writing campaign to Gov. Harriman in Albany, may yet obtain for Reid at least a semblance of the treatment which a refugee from a chain-gang deserves.

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WOOING THE VOTE

GOP boasts of Negro gains but the scoreboard says zero

TO COVER THE CONTINUING blight in civil rights legislation since Republicans captured the Presidency, Val J. Washington, the GOP's Director of Minorities, recently wrote Gen. Eisenhower praising his administration's fulfillment of "each of its 14 specific promises on civil rights made during the 1952 campaign." Negro newspapers and organizations, painfully aware of

Afro-American, Baltimore
Complete record of civil rights bills passed by the 84th Congress

the blank record of the 84th Congress on civil rights, saw the blurb as the beginning of a GOP courtship of the Negro vote for the 1956 campaign.

The "gains" credited to Eisenhower related largely to desegregation in the armed forces (actually begun before he was elected); to Justice Dept. "relentless" action against civil rights offenders (actually the Department has a record of inactivity in this field); and to the end of jimcrow in the nation's capitol (which actually was won by citizen action under the leadership of the late Dr. Mary Church Terrell).

THE REBEL YELLS: The Baltimore **Afro-American** pointedly noted that GOP Senators "were not inclined to raise the civil rights issue and anger Southern Democrats because they needed Democratic support to put over the President's legislative program."

For an explanation of the Eisenhower blank record on civil rights, **Capital Times,** leading white newspaper of Madison, Wisc., went back through Eisenhower's 1952 campaign speeches, came up with this:

> "Down in Columbia, S. C., during the 1952 campaign, Gen. Eisenhower made one of his main bids for the support of the South. . . . (He) said to 50,000 South Carolinians who carried Confederate flags and cheered him with Rebel yells:
>
> **"'By birth and conviction, I am to be numbered among those who stand up when the band plays "Dixie." Could I say more to you?'"**

COPPER STRIKE WON

Mine-Mill beats both: bosses and Brownell

THE INTL. UNION of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, fighting not only the copper industry but Atty. Gen. Brownell, last week won a 47-day strike, netting a package of raises and pension benefits totaling 15c an hour.

Anaconda and Phelps-Dodge moved swiftly to recoup all strike losses and boom profits still higher by jacking copper prices up 4c to 40c a pound, the highest since 1872.

The union won despite a strikebreaking move by Atty. Gen. Brownell who petitioned the Subversive Activities Control Board to brand the union "communist-infiltrated."

Give This Paper To A Friend

Herblock in Washington Post
"My mother is more patriotic than your mother"

WRONG MOTHERS

The lesson: how the innocent get hurt

AT KINGS POINT (L. I.) Merchant Marine Academy on Aug 5, and at the Coast Guard Academy at New London, Conn., on April 1, two young Americans were refused commissions because of their mothers' politics.

The Merchant Marine casualty was Eugene W. Landy, whose mother Deborah of Bradley Beach, N. J., had once been a Communist (1944-47), and still reads the **Daily Worker.** The washed-out Coast Guardsman was N. Pierre Gaston of San Francisco, whose mother once attended the California Labor School. Gaston's case had been unpublicized until the Landy case broke into the news Aug. 5, bringing on a storm of public protest.

In Gaston's case, Coast Guard Commandant Vice-Adm. A. C. Richmond told a TV audience Aug. 21 that he hoped the case would be resolved in the youth's favor. In Landy's case the Navy was hanging tough, but a review board was set up to hear his appeal.

Said Landy's mother:

> "I feel this is a good experience for Gene. Before, when he heard someone accused in a political way, he'd jump to the conclusion they were guilty. Now he'll be able to see that the guilty and the innocent are all mixed up."

CALLING ALL PEOPLE

Civil liberties survey asks your response

MOST PROMISING appropriation of the 84th Congress was $50,000 voted for an investigation by the Senate Judiciary Committee of violations of the Bill of Rights.

The inquiry will start Oct. 3 by a subcommittee of Sens. Thomas C. Hennings (D-Mo.), chairman; Joseph O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.), and William Langer (R-N.D.), with freedom of religion first on the agenda. Two weeks of hearings into freedom of speech and press will begin Oct. 17; and four weeks on freedom of assembly beginning Nov. 14. Chief of the subcommittee staff is Marshall McDuffie, veteran defender of civil liberties.

CONSULT THE PEOPLE: In advance of the hearings, the subcommittee plans to send out questionnaires covering the entire Bill of Rights clause by clause and point by point to all interested organizations and individuals —an undertaking noted by the **Christian Science Monitor** as the only time the citizenry has "been so consulted in this fashion since the First Congress."

Ready for circulation now are questionnaires on freedom of religion; others are being prepared on freedom of speech, press and assembly. Readers are urged to request questionnaires and to bring violations or abridgements of Constitutional rights to the Committee's attention. Address: Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.

NO $64 QUESTIONS: Subcommittee investigators have been ordered to hear every individual and organization contending that curtailment of liberties requires federal legislation. It is promised that no questions will be asked witnesses except those dealing directly with the subject.

The Taft-Hartley Law, Smith Act, Brownell Bills and all other repressive measures are certain to be argued before the committee with demands for repeal. Feel free to call McDuffie with your beef: REpublic 7-7500, extension 2363 (Washington, D. C.).

Fitzgerald

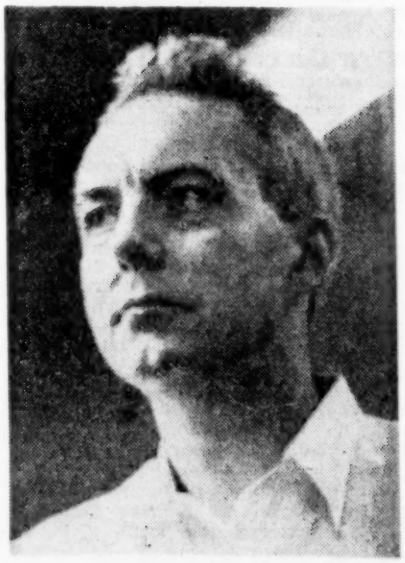
(Continued from Page 1)

a number of procedural errors had been committed which should justify the judge's throwing the case out of court. The trial lasted two hours. Judge Walsh rendered his guilty verdict in less than a minute.

CAMPAIGN ISSUE: He had already uttered the words: "Two years and six months," when Friedman leaped to his feet, reminded the judge that Ullmann had been sentenced to only six months. Government atty. Lloyd F. MacMahon argued that such a "slap on the wrist" would never force people to testify, denounced the Ullmann sentence as an "extremely bad precedent."

Judge Walsh promised that if the law is upheld he will be tougher, sentenced Fitzgerald to six months unless he answers the government's questions, released him on parole until Aug. 24 to allow him to file an appeal and seek bail from a higher court. In a statement issued outside the courtroom Fitzgerald said:

> "This case stinks of politics. . . . For partisan purposes he [Brownell] has pilloried every New Dealer up to and including former President Truman. The case against me is obviously the curtain raiser for the 1956 elections. . . . He knows and has always known that I have never been guilty of or involved in espionage. So does J. Edgar Hoover and certainly, Elizabeth Bentley. That is why Brownell refused to take the stand in response to my subpena and would not permit either Hoover or Bentley to testify."



EDWARD FITZGERALD
The immunity shot didn't take

THE POLITICS: Fitzgerald said he had been selected, of all Bentley's 80 victims, because his last government job was in the Dept. of Commerce under W. Averell Harriman, now a contender for the Democratic presidential nomination. He recalled that the government refuses to try any of those alleged by Bentley to be spies.

Again Fitzgerald charged that the Justice Dept. was deliberately withholding from the grand jury the evidence gathered by William Henry Taylor, the embattled official of the Intl. Monetary Fund. The Intl. Organizations Loyalty Board, set up to screen Americans working for international groups, recently ruled Taylor's loyalty "in reasonable doubt," but last week granted him a re-hearing. Taylor's evidence, partly summarized in the GUARDIAN (8/15), shows the Bentley testimony to be impossible and self-contradictory.

BENTLEY'S HELPERS: Nevertheless Brownell and Hoover publicly vouched for that testimony and it is being used to hound Fitzgerald, Taylor, Ullmann and the 77 others.

A sample of the Taylor documentation reveals that the "Spy Queen" hoax is not Bentley's alone but a broad conspiracy involving officials in the Truman and Eisenhower administrations.

In 1953, many years after the event, Miss Bentley told of an attempted counterfeiting of Allied occupation money by the Russians with the help of the late Under-Secy. of the Treasury Harry Dexter White. She said she arranged for stealing currency samples from the Treasury Department on instructions from a Soviet agent named "Bill." White and others involved were dead or unavailable when she told her story to a special sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Government Operations.

The sub-committee investigated that one story of Miss Bentley's for six months, called 47 witnesses, and in a final report concluded:

> "We have a very clear-cut case here that offers no argument in the refutation . . .that directives given by Miss Bentley to these high functionaries in the Treasury Department, including Mr. White, aided to a considerable degree in achieving the results that they desired after their stealing of the monetary samples failed to give them the proper type of material with which to counterfeit the notes which were being used."

THE TRUTH: The Senators could have disposed of Miss Bentley's charges in less than an hour by referring to these known, documented facts: printing of the occupation currency was a joint enterprise by the U. S., Britain and the U. S. S. R.; Allied military mark currency was made available to all three powers; the Russians preferred to have the printing plates and these were turned over to them by joint agreement of the War Department, the Treasury Department and the State Department.

No official who was in on the currency set-up was called in open session. These included Henry Morthenthau, Secy. of the Treasury at the time of the alleged plot, Averell Harriman, then ambassador to Russia, and Asst. Secy. of War John J. McCloy.

Miss Bentley was not cross-examined. The probers never got as far as the record. The officials who knew the facts kept silent. The conspiracy to infect the nation with the spy fever and damn the New Deal with "20 years of treason" went unchallenged by Democratic and Republican administrations.

Last week the "Spy Queen" was again restored to public service. She was hired as "consultant" to the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

THE FACTS ABOUT THE AMERICAN ECONOMY — V

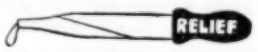
The coming bust—and independent political action

By Tabitha Petran
(Last of five articles)

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS which—barring the greater catastrophe of war—will grip the U.S. and the rest of the capitalist world in the second half of this decade will take place in a world environment far different from that which existed during the crisis which broke out in 1929.

In the earlier period only one country escaped the ravages of the great depression: the U.S.S.R., then already a great power but with its industrialization plans barely started. Some dozen countries, the U.S.S.R., now one of the world's two great powers; China, its largest; Indo-China, Outer Mongolia, N. Korea, E. Germany and the other European people's democracies will remain outside the orbit of the next economic crisis.

The 1929 crisis hit a Europe shaken by post World War I social upheavals but able to preserve its capitalist status quo, although in some cases



only by resorting to fascism. Today half of Europe is already on the road to socialism and W. European capitalism has grown so weak that it stands only with U.S. support.

SHIFT IN BALANCE: Peoples and economies of colonial countries suffered most in the earlier crisis and could not break the tight grip maintained by the imperialist powers. Today this grip is loosened or broken in a number of places. And for the first time these peoples and countries will have an alternative to the squeeze of capitalist crisis: trade with the socialist world and socialist aid in industrialization.

The next economic crisis, which will inevitably involve all the capitalist powers, thus promises, over a period of years, to revolutionize world political and economic relations. Even today, when the crisis lies still in the future, a shift in the world balance of power in favor of the socialist states has already occurred. As long ago as 1951, Hans J. Morgenthau, director of Chicago University's Foreign Policy Center, pointed out[1] that "the U.S. has passed the pinnacle of its power in relation to the Soviet Union." This changing power relationship, now becoming more clear, is the chief factor behind the present relaxation of world tension. It is likely to be accelerated by the economic crisis.

EVENTS IMPEL ACTION: The period ahead thus promises to be neither stable nor tranquil but one of relatively great and rapid change. What are the political implications of this perspective? Progressives, who understand that their tasks are complicated and not to be resolved in any one election or any limited period of time, may find the following considerations relevant.

Amid the welter of conclusions drawn as to what the American people do or do not believe, will or will not accept, it is sometimes forgotten that Americans are like any other people: they will respond to events and be impelled into the arena of action by them. How they respond, and what their actions will be, obviously will depend in part on how successful progressives are in maintaining understanding and clarity during times such as these, and in their capacity for leadership, as the people are moved into action by events.

If progressives are to play a role in shaping the American response, all agree that they must work with people wherever they are. This is an argument for doing just that—for working with people in unions, community groups, and all political parties, Republican, Democrat and independent. It is not an argument for undermining or liquidating independent organizations to work exclusively with one or another of the old parties.

THE TORY COALITION: For 17 years now a tory, anti-New Deal coalition, made up of both old parties, has been dominant on Capitol Hill. It took form in the election following that in 1936 in which the Roosevelt coalition was organized and won its most sweeping victory. In 1938 the tory coalition won important successess.

This was the year in which Roosevelt—with all the backing of his sweeping majority coalition—failed in his efforts to purge the Democratic Party and so make it an instrument of the New Deal coalition. It was the year in which the CIO was defeated in its attempt to gain control of the Democratic Party in Ohio and Pennsylvania; and in which the old third party movements of the Middle West (Minnesota Farmer-Labor, Wisconsin Progressive) foundered, as isolationists moved to the

right while the left and liberals merged with the Democrats.

Since 1938 the tory coalition of both parties has expanded and consolidated its control, while the Roosevelt coalition was weakened and split—and in the 1952 elections, as political analyst Samuel Lubell has pointed out,[2] was finally "torn apart by its inner contradictions."

CHOICE OF EVILS: Some progressives have interpreted the 1952 elections as a voter shift to the right.[3] But Lubell found in it a different significance. Rightly or wrongly, he wrote,[4] "a sizeable portion of the electorate feels that the Korean War is all that is keeping us from a serious economic recession. They see the future as a choice between two dread insecurities—war or depression."

This was, he wrote later,[2] "unquestionably the decisive conflict of the entire election," and the Eisenhower landslide traceable to the fact that voters, seeing the choice as one between "war or depression," chose the latter as "the lesser of two evils." Like other political commentators, Lubell found in 1952 an "identical feeling of frustration and disgust with both of the 1952 candidates."[5]

Three years later, the old parties offer, if any choice at all, only the same choice of evils. If the past 20 years carry any lesson for Americans, it is to underscore the need for independent political orientation and organization based on recognition of conflicting class interests. To be sure, a successful party of this kind contending for power, or even for significant representation in the legislative bodies of government, cannot take shape without organized labor support. Does this mean that political organization must be put off till the time "when the labor movement is ready for it"? The simple fact is that independent political organization now will not block the formation of a mass third party; and without it the emergence of such a party may be sacrificed.

THE ALTERNATIVE: What actually has been proposed by progressives who believe in independent political action? Some have represented the issue as if it were either one of starting a mass third party or moving into the Democratic Party (presumably as individuals). But no serious progressive has proposed or proposes the organization of a mass independent party at this moment since the basis for it does not exist.

What the GUARDIAN has proposed is to build and strengthen existing independent organizations by creating an instrument for maintaining the cohesion, and mobilizing the activities of progressives on a political program to achieve peace, win higher living standards, insure liberties. The permanent value of such an effort can be measured only by the extent to which it prepares the ground for a broader independent political organization. The immediate value is that it provides a means for utilizing instead of dissipating the will and energy of those who still maintain their hopes.

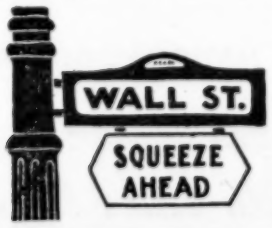
THE TASK TODAY: Although an unavoidable conclusion of this series is that the ultimate solution of the crises of capitalism lies in socialism, this does not mean that the independent political organization proposed should be committed to socialism in the U.S. A political instrument is needed to embrace all who are willing to join together in an immediate progressive program, whatever be their own views and convictions as to ultimate solutions.

But the issue of socialism cannot be avoided on any front on which progressives must fight today. It is impossible to have a progressive organization today which rules out consideration and discussion of socialism or socialist solutions. For example:

- What does it mean to take one's stand for peace today? In essence this means to accept the existence of socialism in half the world—and more as time goes on, and to do business on friendly terms with socialist states. If the issue is not put squarely on this basis, coexistence will be no more than an uneasy truce between military blocs which will explode into war.
- An earlier article suggested that realization of Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights would prove possible only under socialism. Even something much less than this—any significant move to advance the interests of the people—will be fought as "socialism" by the opponents of such a program. Progressives should be prepared to meet this cry of "creeping socialism" with the challenge: "What of it?"

The important task today, however, is the organization of an independent political instrument, consciously free to discuss all these issues. It is needed to provide a place where people can work, where they may learn by experience and trial and error—needed in short, to keep the progressive banner aloft and do the necessary spadework for a mass third party.

1 In Defense of the National Interest, Knopf, 1951.
2 Who Elected Eisenhower? Sat. Evening Post, 1/10/53.
3 Political Affairs, April, 1955.
4 N.Y. World Telegram, 10/17/52.
5 Phila. Evening Bulletin, 9/24/52.



Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words); minimum charge $2 per insertion.

CALENDAR

Los Angeles

TWILIGHT PATIO FIESTA
Celebrate EL DIA DE LA INDEPENDENCIA. Sun., Sept. 18. Dance from 6 p.m. until midnite. Mexican program and delicacies. Croatian Cultural Center, 330 So. Ford Blvd. Adm.: $1 incl. tax. Auspices: L.A. Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.

Bay Area, California

GUARDIAN READERS WILL ANSWER BELFRAGE EXILE with bigger GUARDIAN circulation. Let's get on the job, Wed., 8 p.m., Sept. 7, at Conference Room, 150 Golden Gate Av., S.F. Out-of-towners who can't come write us your plans to help. Malvina Reynolds, 1199 Spruce St., Berkley 7, Calif.

Minneapolis, Minn.

RESULTS OF GENEVA. A symposium will be conducted by the Progressive Party, Tues., Aug. 30, at University Y.M.C.A.

Detroit, Mich.

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Chicago

DR. HARRY F. WARD speaks Saturday, Oct. 1. Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

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30,000 AT YOUTH FESTIVAL

Rebuilt Warsaw is host to world delegations from 100 countries

By Ursula Wassermann
Special to the GUARDIAN

WARSAW

IT SEEMS FITTING that the 5th World Youth Festival should be held in this martyred city, where reconstruction has made gigantic strides and where new life is truly rising from the ashes of the old. Warsaw—ten years ago hopeless and helpless, shattered and starved—is today not only feeding and housing some 30,000 foreigners from more than 100 countries despite a severe housing shortage, but it has become a playground and a showplace of the world.

The festive atmosphere is almost indescribable; it would need a color film to give it true expression. Varsovians and foreigners alike walk about in a happy daze in a sea of light and color. As I stroll along the busy streets and squares, I have a sense of well-being and of belonging, for who could feel a stranger in a city where Einstein's portrait has become the symbol of humanity and Robeson's smile greets you from many posters?

BEWILDERING VARIETY: In the two-week Festival 420 national and 86 international artistic programs are scheduled, not to mention the 57 concerts and the infinite variety of theater perofrmances, films, pantomimes, circuses, folk dances and some thousand odd sport events. The Chinese artistic programs are dazzling in their perfection; the Leningrad ballet is something to be seen many times; India's dancers, in costumes of wonderful beauty, have captured the imagination of East and West alike, while Jacques Fabbri's **Theatre d'Aujourdhui** has found as much acclaim here as it ever did in Paris.

Every program seems to have something new and exciting to offer—be it the quiet composure of Scandinavia's folk dances, the wild beauty of Mexico, the elementary strength of Africa or the dreamy fantasy of the Arab native dances. However, one program which moved me beyond most was Korea's Gala Evening. Here was a people which had suffered almost beyond endurance giving expression in song and dance to all that longed for survival in a world of peace and friendship. The gentle graciousness of their youth made everything else pale by comparison, and the **Song of Peace** which ended the program still rings in my ears.

REGARDS TO THE GUARDIAN: The following day I sat in the large park surrounding the newly-opened Palace of Culture and Science reading an English newspaper. Two Korean girl students sat down on the bench next to me. One of them asked if I was a writer for an English publication. I told them I was writing for an American weekly. "Anti-fascist?" they asked. Yes indeed, I told them. They hugged me and kissed me, and I felt humble before such generosity of spirit, and happy, and a little ashamed. They asked me to tell "my paper" that they loved the American people and wished the paper well.

One of the most moving experiences of my stay here during this past week has been the kindness and affection shown to me—and through me to the NATIONAL GUARDIAN—by friends and strangers alike. There is hardly anyone I have met who has not inquired, with the warmest interest, after the fate and fortune of the GUARDIAN, and especially after Cedric Belfrage's well-being.

●

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Atom knowledge shared

(Continued from Page 1)

material than is put into them, is already a reality in Britain.

• Research is going on to solve the problem of harnessing the energy released by the hydrogen bomb for peaceful purposes.

• The process of extracting uranium from granite, and the relative abundance of thorium as a source of fissionable material give mankind practically unlimited energy resources. When the energy of the hydrogen bomb is harnessed, all the water in the oceans would become potential fuel.

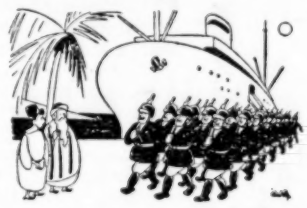
THE DAY IS HERE: The closing session revealed international co-operation in the field of atomic energy already in progress. The U.S. sold its exhibition reactor to the Swiss. The Soviet delegation declared it would "render scientific, technical and operational assistance" to Poland, Czechoslovakia, E. Germany, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary, and build "an experimental nuclear reactor of up to 6,500 kilowatts" for China. N. Y. **Herald Tribune** science editor Earl Ubell reported:

> "The atomic age . . . is at hand. Only economics and politics may delay its fruition."

Events in Asia and Africa, as the atoms-for-peace conference closed, struck a jarring note against the spirit of Geneva.

In the little Portuguese colony of Goa on India's west coast, violence flared up anew on Aug. 15 (Indian Independence Day) as 3,000 unarmed Indians crossed the border to demonstrate solidarity with the suppressed Goan liberation movement. Portuguese soldiers, armed with machine guns and grenades, shot to kill. At least 22 Indians were reported dead, more than 200 wounded, many beaten and jailed. The process was repeated during the next few days. Protests were widespread throughout India.

PINPOINT COLONIALISM: Portugal owns three small stretches of widely separated territories on India's west coast: Goa, Daman and Diu. After the eighteenth century struggle for the conquest of India, the victorious British, as a token of amity, allowed the rival French and Portuguese to retain small enclaves in India. The French more or less gracefully retired from their Indian possessions after India became free; but the fascist



Franc Tireur, Paris

ALGERIA
"The tourists are arriving."

Salazar government has stubbornly hung on to its colonial pinpoints.

Of the 637,846 people in Portugal's Indian colonies, 388,741 are Hindus, 234,021 are converted Catholics who have retained most of their Hindu customs, and 15,084 belong to other religions. The Goans' mother tongue is not Portuguese but Konkani, a dialect of Marathi which is spoken along the coast south of Bombay. In Daman and Diu, everyone speaks Gujarati, a regional Indian language. About 5% speak any Portuguese. Ethnically, culturally and historically Indians in Portuguese colonies are the same people as their neighbors across the borders. Economically, the colonies depend entirely on India; they are now havens for smugglers. Nevertheless, the Portuguese government claims that its colonies are an extension of Portugal 6,000 miles away, just as the French government claims that Algeria is a part of France.

ONE TO FIFTY: Since 1775 there have been more than 30 revolts against Portuguese rule in Goa, violently suppressed. N. Y. **Times** correspondent A. M. Rosenthal recently described Goa as

> ". . . still inching toward the nineteenth century. It is a police state. There are about 10,000 soldiers and 2,000 policemen in Goa, well armed. . . . That means about one armed man for every fifty Goans."

A London **New Statesman** correspondent, mistaken for pro-Lisbon leanings, was allowed to visit the Altinho jail for political prisoners. He reported

> ". . . fear and evidence of brutality. . . . One prisoner unostentatiously edged up his sleeve [to reveal] what looked like branding. Another still had blueish scars across the soles of his feet and his ankles. . . . It was clear there was much else to conceal. . . ."

After giving an eye-witness account of "savage killings" of non-violent demonstrators, the **New Statesman** correspondent felt the Portuguese fear

> ". . . that time was running out for this anti-historic situation, and with this fear must come a tightening of the police-state stranglehold and increasing persecutions."

UNCIVILIZED: India has tried to negotiate a painless exit for Portugal; but, as Rosenthal wrote, Lisbon is willing to talk about anything except "the question of sovereignty." The Salazar regime has invoked NATO aid for holding on to its Indian colonies. On Aug. 18 India's Premier Nehru condemned the Portuguese government's shooting down of unarmed Indians as "brutal and uncivilized to the extreme." New Delhi broke off diplomatic relations with Portugal, and tension over Goa continued high.

•

AS ANTICIPATED, on Aug. 20—the second anniversary of the forced exile of Sultan ben Youssef—Morocco suffered

> ". . . the worst wave of disorders since independence became an issue in N. Africa. . . . Berber tribesmen fought parachute troops . . . and other Nationalists clashed with troops and tanks in the shanty towns surrounding Casablanca" (**AP**, 8/20).

The fighting spread to Algeria, as casualties by Aug. 22 mounted to at least 800 dead and untold numbers wounded. Last week France was trying to ease out unpopular Sultan ben Moulay Arafa, whom they placed on the throne two years ago, and was attempting to negotiate with the Nationalists. But the negotiations seemed doomed to failure, since France planned to stem the tide of independence with only token concessions.

Who's brainwashing whom?

FROM CIA CHIEF Allen Dulles' address on "Brainwashing" at Princeton University alumni meeting, April 10, 1953:

> "New [Communist] techniques wash the brain clean of the thoughts and mental processes [of their victims] and, possibly through the use of some 'lie serum,' create new brain processes. . . .

Washington Post (3/9) wrote editorially that, in the process of "brainwashing," British and American POWs were subjected to "psychological coercion" and such "sickening tortures" as being "trussed up by methods known to Oriental torturers so that a single movement of the limbs would result in strangulation."

NOW HEAR THIS: A. E. Hotchner, in an article in **This Week** magazine (7/17), reported the conclusions of "[Army] Intelligence Officers whose job it has been to study and evaluate the conduct of hundreds of men who were prisoners of war in Korea":

- "No American military prisoner was 'brainwashed' during the entire Korean war.
- ". . . Torture, in the classic sense, was not used at all as a means of obtaining converts."

On Aug. 17 the report of the Defense Department's Advisory Committee on Prisoners of War was made public; it included this:

> "The committee made a thorough investigation of the 'brainwashing' question. In some cases this time-consuming and coercive technique was used to obtain confessions. . . .
>
> "Most of the prisoners, however, were not subjected to brainwashing, but were given a high-powered indoctrination for propaganda purposes. . . .
>
> "The committee also learned that P. O. W.'s in Korea were not drugged. . . .".

NEW YORK CALENDAR

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ASP STARLIGHT FORUM, Sun., Aug. 28, 8:30 p.m., 59 W. 71st St., Penthouse 10A. Selections from "I Vote My Conscience," forthcoming political autobiography of the late Vito Marcantonio. Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein. Refreshments. Contribution: $1.25.

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the SPECTATOR

Let amnesty start now!

CEDRIC BELFRAGE, who has promised he will return to the ungrateful country he did so much to brighten and improve, said among other fine things in his parting statement:

> "The day will come when the people will note what now escapes them, that some of the American Communists now jailed for their thoughts are among the best human beings in this land."

Belfrage described such a friend he had made in prison, a Communist whom he and other prisoners came to admire. Let me appeal to GUARDIAN readers for help to another such victim of the "creeping fascism" that has just deprived us of Cedric Belfrage.

ALL OUT FOR "POP": He is Jacob Mindel, 74-year-old scholar and teacher of Marxism whose sharp wit, all-around humanity and paternal warmth long ago earned him the nickname of "Pop" from his many students.

"Pop" Mindel was among the 13 defendants at the Foley Square Smith Act trial in 1953. He has served a year, and with another year to go is now eligible for parole in September. His wife Rebecca, and all his friends and neighbors, are working hard for such a parole. It is not a year, but a matter of life and death for "Pop" Mindel.

Without question every American in prison today for his ideas should be freed. A great campaign for amnesty to all political prisoners seems to me a political necessity of the hour. It would be a way of exposing the vast frame-up, the Hitlerite conspiracy of the McCarthyites against America.

In "Pop" Mindel's case there is more than a political necessity, however. He is a very sick man with a chronic stomach malady and a heart condition that forced him seven years ago to retire from most of his activities.

I am one of his neighbors in the Bronx and have seen him walking slowly in the park with his wife. Devoted companions for more than 50 years, they made a handsome couple, with their faces of habitual goodness, their serenity of people who have always lived by principle. It was on one of these peaceful walks that "Pop" was suddenly snatched from his wife by the FBI.

MUST THEY KILL HIM? Another year of prison may kill the gallant old fighter and teacher. His wife and his friends are justified in their alarm. A doctor testified to his dangerous condition before the trial judge. The FBI certainly is aware that he has been a retired, semi-invalid scholar these past seven years. "Pop" fainted in a heart attack at the trial and had to be hospitalized. He has fainted twice in the last months at the Danbury prison. It hurts one to think of him there.

Do they really want to kill him? What can they hope to gain? Do they think the "free world" will admire them for killing this old scholar in prison, when every day gangsters and cocaine kings are given pardons, paroles, and all the favors money can buy? The lack of common mercy shown "Pop" Mindel has a special and peculiar odor. It smells to me of fascism.

"Pop" Mindel is a Communist. Does that justify the government in being brutal to him? American liberals like the columnist Barry Gray, and other writers in the N. Y. **Post**, the **New Republic** and similar organs, seem engaged today in a race to prove to the McCarthyites that they hate Communists better than the McCarthyites. Anything done to a Communist wins their applause. It is rather cowardly for a liberal, I believe, to attempt to justify himself to the American Hitlers. It is also stupid—and never works.

MANN TO MAN: The late Thomas Mann never ceased warning such liberals against their suicidal policy of rallying behind the fascist forces in alleged war on communism. This anti-communism was the main trick in the strategy of fascism, said Mann. It divided the people, it weakened the democracy. First the Communists, then the Jews, Negroes and foreign born: then the Socialists, liberals, Catholics, and other minorities—one after another, until the last anti-communist liberal was locked in the camp of Nazi death!

Until Americans learn the historic meaning of the anti-communist drives, learn that this is a conspiracy of lies to destroy not Marx but Lincoln, this country isn't safe from the Hitler furnaces. Americans who want to remain free should study the matter. They should fight fascism everywhere—including Congress and the courts. They can begin by asking for a parole for that brave, good, devoted teacher of Marxism, Jacob "Pop" Mindel. It is an act of human mercy as well as of democratic politics. Help save his life!

Write your request immediately, since the parole board meets in September. Address: Chairman of the Federal Parole Board, Washington, D. C. You can please Mrs. Rebecca Mindel by sending her a copy at 2854 Bronx Park East, New York 67, N. Y.

—Mike Gold

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